

The ADA Threatens to Go Republican in 1968 If Offered "Genuine" Hope for Peace

"How ironically absurd it would be if the fate we have feared for so long [destruction of our civilization] were to come not from some titanic confrontation of great principle but from the wasteful and shortsighted pursuit of a con-

flict in a remote part of Asia."

—The ADA National Board May 20 criticizes Johnson for "reckless escalation" and threatens to back a Republican for President in 1968.

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"For What Can War But Endless War Still Breed?"—Milton

Where does one begin to untangle the web in which all mankind is caught in the Middle Eastern crisis? From one point of view this is another episode in a 3,000-year-old struggle between kindred peoples for the same strip of earth. From another it is part of a world rivalry between the two super-powers. So many conflicts impinge on this area, it will be a miracle if an explosion is averted. If there were no America and no Russia, no communism or capitalism, it would make not the slightest difference—as the Bible attests—to the conflict of Arab and Jew. If there were no Israel, it would make no difference to the conflict of Arab with Arab: in the midst of the Arab-Israeli crisis, Jordan breaks relations with Syria over a terrorist action; Nasser rejects a suggestion that the Arab League Defense Council meet because he does not trust his Arab rivals; and while *Jihad* (Holy War) is proclaimed against Israel in Cairo's mosques, Cairo's Ilyushin bombers drop poison gas and high explosives on Northern Yemen (London *Daily Telegraph*, May 22) in the civil war between Saudi-backed Royalists and Egyptian-backed Republicans. The Angel of Death is overdue.

At Both Ends of the Red Sea

There is layer upon layer of conflict. While Nasser has shut off Israel's lifeline to the Red Sea, a covert duel is already underway between Russia and America for control of the narrow straits through which the Red Sea itself pours into the Indian Ocean. The U.S. has been arming the Ethiopians and the Russians the Somalis in the exploitation of another ancient feud for the African shore of these straits. The impending withdrawal of British power from Aden on the Asian shore has stimulated Russian aid to Nasser and U.S. aid to Saudi Arabia in the Yemenite civil war. Each superpower has its puppet in this proxy struggle while on the secondary level each Arab imperialism exploits the fratricidal passions of the Yemenis. China has declared her solidarity with the Arabs in what Peking sees as a world struggle of colored races against white imperialism, but on the other side of the Red Sea in the Sudan, a half million Negroes in the pagan and Christian South have been killed in a 10-year "war of national liberation" against the Arabs of the Moslem North.* If there is a race problem in the Middle East, it is

* A reporter-photographer team has just published a vivid account of this little known war in the April 30 issue of Germany's leading picture magazine, *Stern*.

On The Spring Mobilization Meeting

I spent a day, its final session, at the Spring Mobilization here last week-end, and I want to say a few plain words about it. The dominant feeling among many, young and old, was that they came (in contemporary lingo) to be switched on, but were only switched off. The New York and San Francisco parades brought out people who had never participated before. They marched to express their concern. They would have done so even if the parade were led by Holy Rollers or Fresh Water Baptists. Because radical elements, to their credit, organized the parades when more moderate leaders hung back, some of the radical groups got delusions of grandeur. They thought they were leading a mass movement for their own particular nostrum. And at the Washington conference they fought among themselves for control of this peace movement, in Lilliputian all-night caucuses of far-out Leftists and far-out Black Nationalists who had trouble agreeing on anything. The outstanding deadlock was the failure to agree on any program of political action. The worst aspect was the contempt and hatred of white—their white allies, not their white enemies—expressed by many of the Black Nationalists. This is a fine way to kill the peace movement. This is how agents provocateur operate.

The peace movement has to make up its mind. Does it want to persuade as large a section of the American people as possible, or to antagonize them? Martin Luther King speaks in terms of black and white together, and in terms of conscience and love of country. Those who want to use the peace movement to preach hate, race war and revolution ought to get out of the peace movement and back to their own little war movements. We are not going to sell peace by spreading hate and hysteria. Everybody is busy drawing parallels with German experience. But the most important one is passed over. Nazism came to power because the moderate Left and the extreme Left were so busy fighting each other, and so full of fratricidal hate, that the

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the human race, with its tribal animosities and murderous proclivities, its immemorial love of war.

Only the two superpowers, acting in concert, tacitly or explicitly, can possibly prevent war between Israel and the Arab States, or stop one if it breaks out. The failure of the superpowers to fulfil their responsibilities in the past is a fundamental factor. In 1947, both the Western and Soviet blocs

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The Meaning of the Nuremberg Issue in the Capt. Levy Court Martial

Will the Next Step Be Just A "Temporary" Foray Into North Vietnam?

THE LOGIC that led U.S. forces into the demilitarized zone now supports pressure for invasion of the North—the guns which shell U.S. strong points south of the DMZ are placed to the north of the DMZ zone. The next step may be "pre-emptive forays" against gun emplacements and then a wider invasion, but accompanied—in the Johnson Administration's familiar style—by assurances that this will be limited to the southern part of North Vietnam! So we inch our way toward war with China.

Fair Challenge or Trap?

AS WE UNDERSTAND it from afar, the crux of the defense in the trial of Capt. Howard Levy at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, is that he was within his moral and legal rights to refuse to train in medicine men who carry arms—in this case medical aid men attached to the Green Berets. But when his counsel, Charles Morgan, Jr., offered to prove Capt. Levy's assertions that the Green Berets were killers of peasants, the Judge declined to hear such evidence, ruling that truth was not a defense, that the court martial was concerned only with whether his "intent" in making such statements was to sow disaffection among the troops. The Judge did rule however that he would admit, as a defense, evidence of crimes against humanity within the rulings made at the Nuremberg trial.

This looks like a trap. The full meaning of the Nuremberg precedents is still murky; their applicability to the Vietnam war is a matter of controversy. It is hardly fair to expect single-handed counsel, in the one week allowed him, to put the U.S. in the dock. This is an easy way to win a quickie victory in the headlines as a counterbalance to the Russell war crimes trial; it is no way seriously to deal with the issues raised. For the average person "Nuremberg" connotes genocide and crematoria. In this oversimplified sense, Vietnam offers no parallel. But legally Nuremberg stands for the proposition that a soldier cannot plead "superior orders" if he commits a crime against the laws of war, or against humanity, but is under obligation to refuse.

This is embodied in the U.S. Army's rules of land warfare. Under them a soldier may well plead that the war in Vietnam is itself a violation of the UN Charter; that the napalm "anti-personnel" fragmentation weapons and indiscriminate bombing used against villages violate the 1907 Hague convention; that the mistreatment of prisoners contravenes the 1949

The One Dove Who Would Not Growl

Just before the demilitarized zone was invaded, 16 Senators, all doves though some of them coo infrequently released a letter to Ho Chi Minh assuring him—in case he didn't know—that they were opposed to unilateral withdrawal and warning that failure to negotiate would lead to "a prolonged and intensified war." Senator Church, its original framer, more chicken than dove, submitted it in advance to Secretary Rusk for approval. The latter must have been pleased to have it appear on the eve of a new escalation. The Washington Star May 18 praised these Senators for "responsible statesmanship" and mistakenly included Gruening of Alaska as one of the signers.* On May 20 it published a letter from Gruening saying that he had not signed because he regarded the conflict as a civil war "in which the U.S. interjected itself unilaterally." Gruening declared the peace overtures made by the Administration were not "realistic" because they "offer incompatible and contradictory solutions (1) That we return to the Geneva agreements, which predicate a united Vietnam after nationwide elections and (2) insist on an independent South Vietnam."

* The others were Cooper, McGovern, Fulbright, Moss, Bartlett, Metcalf, Hartke, Nelson, Burdick, Clark, Young of Ohio, Robert Kennedy, Hatfield, Morse and Pell.

Geneva convention; that the use of toxic gases violates the 1925 Geneva treaty against gas and bacteriological warfare; and that the wanton destruction of cities and villages north and south fall within the crimes declared by the Charter of the Nuremberg tribunal.

You do not have to prove that Johnson is a Hitler or that the U.S. set out deliberately, as did the Nazis, to exterminate a whole people. It is the disproportion between our declared ends and our means which is at the heart of the crimes which may be laid at our door. We are destroying South Vietnam though we claim to be rescuing it. Even if our claim were wholly true, the means are beyond justification. A parent may discipline an unruly child; he may not torture or dismember it. You don't liberate a supposedly friendly country with napalm and saturation bombing. But this is not a question which can adequately be adjudicated in a few days, with a week's preparation, by one overburdened lawyer without access to the military files where the full truth is hidden.

Washington's Most Conservative Paper Calls for An End to the Bombing of the North

"The time has come in The Star's opinion, for the United States to stop bombing in North Vietnam. We say this without the slightest apology for the Administration's conduct of the war up to now. The decision to start bombing was necessary and right. . . . But every military strategy must be subject to constant review. . . . The bombing has not stopped the infiltration. . . . [It] has not produced any evidence that Hanoi's will to fight has been impaired. On the contrary . . . if anything, it has hardened the enemy's determination. . . . Assuming we continue to limit our strikes to specific military and industrial targets . . . very few if any worthwhile targets remain available.

"Most important, we cannot escalate the bombing beyond present levels without real danger. . . . North Vietnam must

be maintained as a going concern, since China and Russia cannot permit it to be crushed. If we cut much closer to the bone, China may well move. Much more certainly, Russia will step up her supply to Hanoi of sophisticated weaponry, accompanied by Russian technical crews. . . .

"It is true that bombing 'pauses' in the past have failed. . . . The complaint in the past has been that the announced temporary nature of the cessation—and the public insistence on reciprocal de-escalation by Hanoi—constituted an ultimatum. This time, there would be nothing that in any sense could be made to look like an ultimatum. . . . With the bombing stopped, the world will have been pulled back from a brink which looks daily more ominous. . . ."

—Washington Star, Sunday, May 21.

A Phoney Facade for the Greek Takeover: Wasted Billions in Space and Arms

Why Should Members of Congress Practice Law or Do Business on The Side?

IF SENATOR LONG of Missouri thinks someone is trying to do a smear job on him for exposing the "bugging" activities of government agencies, he could find no better way to counteract it than by taking the advice offered by Williams of Delaware and making full disclosure to the Senate Ethics Committee of the clients and the fees he has shared in "referrals" from other lawyers. Long's receipt of \$48,000 in such fees from a lawyer for Jimmy Hoffa, as exposed in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and *Life Magazine*, has brought disrepute on a most valuable investigation. The fault, in our opinion, lies with Long and with the well-established practice of letting Senators and Congressmen practice law on the side. This opens the door wide to all kinds of abuse and conflicts of interest. Why should a member of Congress have outside business interests of any kind which he can serve in his official capacity? The Long revelations, on the heels of the weak and dilatory way the Senate is handling the Dodd affair, must deepen Negro resentment over the expulsion of Powell for comparatively trivial infractions which did not involve conflicts of interest.

The Greek Military Imitate Brazil's

EVENTS IN GREECE follow the Brazilian pattern: A coup with U.S. connivance destroys constitutional government and the military then improve their "image" by proceeding to frame a new constitution designed to keep the right in power while giving the regime a pseudo-democratic facade. The International Commission of Jurists in Geneva, which gets so much publicity here when it denounces left dictatorships, issued a strong condemnation of the new Greek regime (May 13) and called on the Council of Europe to investigate the Greek military for violating the European Human Rights Convention. But we did not see a line about this in the U.S. press.

ORCHIDS, as Walter Winchell used to say, to Wm. Hines and the *Washington Star* for their account of "Apollo: A Shining Vision in Trouble" (May 21) which links the moon project with the Bobby Baker scandal and graphically shows how the five main contracts (two to North American, one each to Boeing, Grumman and Douglas) have rocketed from their originally announced cost of \$1,240 millions to current estimates of \$9,564 millions. Isn't it time that organizations concerned with poverty follow up Congressman Wm. F. Ryan's action forcing out the long suppressed Phillips report on North American's inefficiency? The spotlight ought to be thrown

Not Much Of A Testimonial to LBJ's War

"I just do not know how much you would have to pay a man to pick up a gun and go over to the mud of Vietnam. . . . If we are to put up signs reading 'Men Wanted for Government Employment. Join the Army. Free Food. Free Clothing. Free Lodging. Go to Vietnam', how much does the Senator think we would have to pay them a month? . . . The defense budget today is more than half of the largest budget this country has ever seen. If we are to go into the open market and hire men to constitute an armed force of 3,500,000 men, there would hardly be enough money to carry on the other operations of Government."

—Senator Russell arguing against a professional army in the Senate draft debate May 11.

in a big way on this space gravy train for Texas-Oklahoma multimillionaires which gets more and more lush while our slums decay into human jungles. Everybody knows about this but the full magnitude has never been spelled out in a graphic way as part of a campaign to divert these funds to poverty.

THIS MIGHT BE COUPLED with a fresh look at the arms race. As we move toward a decision on the anti-ballistic missile which may end by costing up to \$50 billions, it might be well to glance back at what has been spent in the past on other supposedly impregnable defenses. The latest House defense hearings disclose that we have spent \$50 billions since World War II on anti-aircraft defenses now made obsolete by the missile; this includes the cost of the highly publicized DEW line and the SAGE system. The same hearings show that on missiles themselves we have spent almost \$20 billions. Of the intercontinentals a Pentagon official said recently, "We not only don't know whether they will work but we'll only have 30 minutes in which to find out." Two Democratic members of House Armed Services (Otis G. Pike of New York and Lucien N. Nedzi of Missouri) have just filed a minority report warning against embarking on a new arms race with a so-called "thin" anti-missile defense before every effort is made to negotiate a standstill with the Soviet Union. Another multi-billion dollar item was Polaris, supposed to be an "ultimate" second strike weapon hidden under the seas on nuclear submarines. The latest (May) issue of *Air Force* magazine says new reconnaissance techniques will soon make it possible for aerial satellites to spot and track Polaris. All those billions could have rebuilt every slum in America.

The Privileged Classes Who Evade The Vietnam War in The Well-Paid Reserves

"It is quite unfair to take young men for two years and put them under selective service, when we know that there is a 'policy'—I put the word in quotation marks because I could not raise my right hand and testify that it is an official policy, I only judge by the results of what has occurred—to use draftees out of all proportion to their numbers and let reservists stay at home and collect the millions of dollars we are paying to the Reserves in order to maintain a system that was supposedly established by law for men to come to the assistance of the country in time of emergency.

"If anybody has any doubt about the most effective way to change our policy in Southeast Asia, let me remove the doubt by suggesting that Congress pass a law, or that the

Administration merely adopt a policy, that of those called into military service from now on, 50% shall be reservists and 60% shall be draftees. . . .

"If we started to take several thousand doctors, lawyers, dentists, business men, service station operators and farmers who are in the Reserve and who are the recipients monthly of Reserve pay, and were to say, 'We are going to call up your units and send them to Vietnam', it would not take long to get an entire change of American foreign policy vis a vis Vietnam; for then at the very grass roots of our economy and at the very grassroots of our citizenry, a dialogue would start."

—Morse in the Senate debate on the draft, May 11.

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joined in the two-thirds vote of the UN General Assembly which partitioned Palestine into Arab and Jewish States. Next year, when the Jewish state was declared, there was a race between Moscow and Washington to see which would recognize it first. The obligation was on both sides to force a final peace and stabilize the area. This was possible only if it were neutralized and withdrawn from the great power rivalry.

The Cold War Interfered

Unfortunately at that very time the cold war began, and with it a little arms race in the Middle East to match the bigger arms race in the world. In 1956, seeing a huge build-up of Soviet weapons in Egyptian hands for a war of revenge, Israel struck in the Sinai and destroyed or seized the armament ready for its destruction while England and France attacked Egypt in an effort to recover the Suez Canal. Again the superpowers acted in tacit concert. Khrushchev and Eisenhower forced Anglo-French withdrawal from Egypt and Israeli from Sinai. But again an opportunity was wasted. In the 10 years since, instead of bringing about a final peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors, the superpowers supplied the arms for the new outbreak. A survey in the *London Times* May 19 showed that almost \$3 billions in armament have been poured into this volatile area since the Second World War not only by Britain, America, Russia and France but also from Canada, Italy, Holland, Formosa and elsewhere. *The Times* questioned the ethics and wisdom of this huge arms trade. The whole world may suffer from the tinder it supplied.

The Arab-Israeli conflict is too profoundly human to be susceptible to easy solution. But then so is that over Kashmir and so was the Greco-Turkish, but populations far larger than those displaced in the Palestine war have been resettled in the past and peace made. But it has to be imposed from outside. The Arab refugee looks in bitterness across the border and sees lands he lost. The Israeli feels besieged and sees home and children menaced by a recrudescence of terrorism. Reprisal has proven a poor long-range remedy. It was the fear of an Israeli reprisal action against Syria, with the blow that might have struck Nasser's prestige in the Arab

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Hitlerites were able to take over even though they did not have a majority. To drive away the middle class moderates or to immobilize them, and then to provoke the country with extremist hot air and riot, is the best way to bring a Fascist-style repression. We don't blame the voices of anger and anguish rising from the ghetto, but these are not the best guides to sober political action. How are we going to have peace in the world, when a budding little peace mobilization can't even make peace among its own rival splinter factions, when discussions turn into a kind of vicarious war, satisfying the aggressive impulses and mutual animosities of the participants?

Yet I could not help thinking, as I listened to this unrepresentative bedlam, that if the American people knew what a nuclear war would do to them, if they had any real conception of the suffering, chaos, panic and madness it would unleash, they and their children would be demonstrating by the millions, not leaving the task to this few who—despite all their shortcomings and contradictions—are still the prescient, the handful who sense what's coming, and try in time to raise the alarm. In this they deserve applause. But that's no reason not to try to make them and the peace movement act more sensibly.

world, which led to the demand that the UN forces be withdrawn from Sinai and the new crisis. Israel was created by the UN, the 1956 war was stopped through the UN, this is a UN problem. But all the powers, great and small alike, have defied and ignored the UN when their purposes seemed served thereby. Now when the UN is so badly needed, it may have become too weak. And the smoke which rises from burning Hanoi and Haiphong darkens the scene, making international cooperation between the superpowers more difficult than ever. The effort, at whatever cost to the people of Vietnam, to substitute a Pax Americana for a world order, now exacts its price in the Middle East, when an overextended America—and an anxious world—suddenly look again to the United Nations.

This is the consequence of a world without law, in which every nation is armed for, and insists on the right to, murder. Our prayer for peace goes out, for Arab and Jew alike, and for all mankind.

May 24. 7 a.m.

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